4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

622 756 778 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

554 726 *Coups.* The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pítahauírata division, but we have no data upon it.

756 837 *Exchange of Wives.* According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

224 [223] *Hunting Ceremonies.* There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

832 838 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342 532 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

834 *Sex Taboo.* Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

276 *Smoking.* A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

5: Dorsey & Murie E, 1-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

freedom. [I doubt that this was so between all persons of opposite sex—especially not brothers and sisters.] This does not imply that there was no sense of morality or convention. One of the greatest reproaches that could be heaped upon a man was to speak of him as *tihakakits*, which meant that the saliva ran down his face and implied that he lacked decency and did not treat women with respect.

Chastity, particularly among unmarried women, was held in high esteem. At the outskirts of every village were widows or girls who had been driven from home on account of immorality and who lived as prostitutes.

So far as was determined, but a single berdache has been known among the Pawnee for many years. Such an individual was said to have the ways of a woman and was supposed to have been influenced by the moon.

The lazy man was the slow one, the man who, as a boy, never carried water, packed corn, took the ponies to water, gathered wood for the fire, or ran away with a war party. Such a one was despised.

The coward was the one afraid to go on the warpath. He was always hanging around camp and never went out on the high hills at night for power because he was afraid of ghosts, as the burying grounds were generally on hills.

The stingy man was the sort who, when it was his wife's turn to provide food for the occupants of the lodge, put on the fire a tiny pot of meat only sufficient for himself.

The liar was one who always deceived people. He constantly came in with false news of having seen buffalo near-by. He gave false alarms when sent out as a scout. He was generally a coward as well, for he never, if he could help it, went out in front when in the presence of the enemy; yet he was always the first to return home and boast of his deeds in the fight. Should he lie four times about having seen buffalo his word was forever after doubted and he was despised and no attention paid to him. His joints got large and he became a cripple. When the Skidi saw a man whose joints were swollen with arthritis they said that it was the penalty he paid for having been a liar.

Insane and crazy persons in old times were not known as such; at any rate it is not remembered that they existed. A woman was said to be "mixed up," "her spirit is not straight," when she was under the influence of love medicine and powerless to control herself.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Pawnees might have improved their horticulture to such a degree that they would have made important advances in industry and thus developed a much more widespread pattern of trade. What the division of labor would have been and the status of different occupational groups in the light of their implicit attitudes can only be conjectured. There is no assurance at all that they would have developed one group as dominant over the others or a permanent power structure of the Old World type. As much as 20,000 years may separate the bulk of New World population from the Old, and the Old World social formulas need not have appeared among them at all. Athough the buffalo have been domesticated in individual instances, suggesting that they may be domesticable, there is no certainty that the North American Indians would have domesticated them. And even had that been the case, it does not mean that the men would have developed the kind of dominant position over women that characterizes most of Old World culture, nor even that empires of the Ghengis Khan type would have appeared. In the light of the development of urban concentrations in Peru, Mexico, and Central America, as the economy became more complex and as a consequence the population more concentrated, urbanlike centers were very likely to occur. Both Mexican and Peruvian native political administrations as we know them from the period of contact were conquest organizations. Conquest need not have been the path of the Pawnee. In fact, intergroup alliance that has gained fame in connection with the League of the Iroquois was characteristic not only of the Pawnee but of the other Caddoan peoples extending all the way south to Texas and the Gulf and north to Dakota.

In the major division of labor between men and women, a man did not feel threatened because he acquired skills possessed by women. On the contrary, it was considered incumbent on the Pawnee man to be a "good Pawnee cook," and men were perfectly adept at slicing and drying meat, shelling corn, and other skills. In the 1930's during the period of my fieldwork in Oklahoma, the men offered to demonstrate for me and, when I looked dubious, they reassured me saying that, after all, they often had to do these things when they were far away on the warpath or on exploring expeditions. While I was in Oklahoma I observed that the men often lent a hand to the women, without the slightest self-consciousness, and if the woman didn't happen to be home when they came in they tended to get right on with the necessary mealtime preparations and attention to the children. Neither the man nor the woman felt threatened or in a position of blurring the sex lines by this procedure. From their point of view it was a matter of acquired skills, not sex. Although homosexuals or lesbians were rare, these relationships were not regarded as a serious social anomaly but as a personal inclination which the Pawnees thought people had a right to have. With their reaction to their primary division of labor, there is no certainty that as greater